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SUBJECT: (IO - UNP - MID) -- Cuban Communication

Enclosed is a translation of a communication dated April 27, 1961, from the Minister for External Relations of Cuba, Raul Roa, addressed to the President of the UN General Assembly, which the UN Secretariat transmitted on May 1 to Missions of Member States. The communication states that its chief purpose is to place on record the "deep concern felt by the Government and people of Cuba at the obvious signs of an imminent armed attack by the Government of the United States."

Zachary P. Geaneas
Chief Administrative Officer

Enclosure: 60, 70, 71.

Translation of
communication from
the Minister for External
Relations of Cuba.

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National - Cuba

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Translated from Spanish

H. E. Mr. Frederick H. Boland
President of the General Assembly
United Nations, N. Y.

New York, 27 April 1961

Sir,

I have been instructed by Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos, President of the Republic of Cuba, and Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government, to make the following statement, through you, to the General Assembly.

The chief purpose of this communication is to place on record the deep concern felt by the Government and people of Cuba at the obvious signs of an imminent armed attack by the Government of the United States. A careful assessment of the latest statements and recent movements of President Kennedy and his closest civilian and military collaborators justifies the conclusion that the predominant trend, in the present stage of development of the situation deliberately created by the Government of the United States, will lead, unless it is checked or deflected in time by good sense and foresight, to direct aggression and intervention. The New York Post editorial of 26 April is highly illuminating in this connexion: it calls for the immediate abandonment of the catastrophic policy pursued up to the present, with grave danger to international peace and security, by the Department of State, the Pentagon, and the Central Intelligence Agency.

The United States Government's traditional position of strength in its relations with the small and under-developed countries seemed to have reached its climax during the administration of President Eisenhower. But it has been left well behind by the Democratic Administration. The outburst of anger, arrogance and frustration produced by the Playa Girón debacle led President Kennedy to the unthinking adoption of his predecessor's brink of war policy when he declared to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on 21 April that he was prepared to intervene unilaterally in Cuba if he considered it desirable for the "security of the nation". This means neither more nor less than that the Organization of American States and the United Nations are of significance to the United States Government only to the extent that they can serve its political interests, economic privileges, strategic objectives and positions of hegemony in world politics. It is not surprising, therefore, that that Government has ignored the statements of many delegations advocating a

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peaceful solution of its differences with the Revolutionary Government within the framework of the United Nations, and the outcry of protest from world public opinion when the mercenary invasion force in its service trampled upon Cuban territory.

The crushing defeat of the counter-revolution exported by the Central Intelligence Agency has laid bare the dirty role played by the Government of the United States. Its grim behaviour has now been placed on trial in the court of world public opinion. All the peoples of the world have now learned the deepest secrets of this tortuous manoeuvre of United States imperialism against the self-determination, independence, sovereignty and progress of the Cuban people. "Liberation" from the "Communist tyranny" implanted by Fidel Castro has been the pretext invoked in order to restore by force in Cuba the semi-colonial structure of political domination and economic slavery which had plunged it into poverty, backwardness, ill-health, ignorance and servitude, with fat profits to the great United States companies, the Cuban privileged classes, and the political and military cliques through which the social system of the exploitation of man by man exerted its dominion. By totally liberating the creative forces subjugated by the imperialist and capitalist power structure and entrusting to those forces the democratic mastery of their own destinies, the Cuban Revolution destroyed the bases and conditions of existence of the overthrown system and established, together with the effective exercise of sovereignty and popular liberties, higher, more complex and more fruitful forms of human coexistence, which guarantee every Cuban bread, culture and dignity through labour. In less than three years, the Revolution has nationalized the basic means of production, laid the foundations for a socialist economy, diversified international trade, outlawed racial inequality, and sown the island with co-operatives, people's farms, factories, schools, hospitals, roads, irrigated lands and public beaches. This tremendous achievement, which inaugurates a new chapter in human history, the State Department has attempted to characterize as a "betrayal" of the Cuban people. Such misjudgement is conceivable only in those who identify the interest of capitalism with the interests of the people and the interests of imperialism with the interests of the nation. The revolutionary armed forces and the people's militia have already assumed responsibility for uncovering the real motives underlying this political misinterpretation and meting out retribution to the real agents of betrayal.

Events have conclusively demonstrated the solid basis which exists for the repeated complaints lodged by the Cuban delegation in various organs of the United Nations.

In reply to the Cuban delegation's two appeals to the Security Council and the recent complaint submitted to the General Assembly, the United States delegation categorically rejected all the evidence and proof submitted. Its propaganda machine set about the task of spreading a dense cloud of evasions, sophistries and lies over the facts charged. At the very moment when Cuban workers and peasants were being mown down by United States machine-guns, the United States representative summoned up all his oratorical resources to divert the debate into channels which had nothing to do with the charges and facts put forward.

The Revolutionary Government considers that a brief reconstruction of the immediate background to the invasion and of the course it took would be of the greatest value to the General Assembly in its future judgements.

As the General Assembly is aware, the body charged with the task of destroying the Cuban Revolution was the United States Central Intelligence Agency. Former President Eisenhower gave his approval to the plans, which were to be carried out in the last days of his Administration; but after consulting with the President elect he decided to entrust the latter with their execution, although preparations were continued at an increasing tempo. Allen W. Dulles' Gestapo kept the camps open and the money flowing from its secret coffers. The expenses of the mercenary army and its political and propaganda apparatus gradually increased, from \$100,000 monthly to more than half a million dollars beginning with last December.

The 5,000-foot landing strip constructed near the town of Retalhuleu, on the Helvetia ranch owned by Roberto Alejos, the brother of the Guatemalan Ambassador to the United States, cost the Central Intelligence Agency \$1 million. The Agency also invested considerable sums of money, in the same country, to prepare the San José Buena Vista cotton plantation and the Suiza, San Juan de Acul and Dos Lagunas ranches for the training of the mercenaries.

On assuming office, President Kennedy ordered a review of the plans for aggression against Cuba. Diplomats and political advisers studied the question from the point of view of the international complications which might arise. The Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces approved the military plans for the invasion, which were signed by General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the Chairman of that august body, and Admiral Arleigh Burke, the Chief of Naval Operations. By mid-April the officials of the Central Intelligence Agency who were responsible for "Operation Cuba" announced that the time had come to launch the attack.

The final decision was taken in the White House. As has been learned, a meeting was held at which the participants were, in addition to President Kennedy, Dean Rusk, the Secretary of State; Robert McNamara, the Secretary of Defence; General Lyman L. Lemnitzer, the head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Admiral Arleigh Burke, the Chief of Naval Operations; Allen W. Dulles, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; General C.P. Cabell, his adviser; Richard Bissell, the Deputy Director of the Agency; Thomas C. Mann, Under Secretary of State; Adolph Berle, the State Department Special Co-ordinator for Latin America; and McGeorge Bundy, the Special Assistant to the President for National Security. At that meeting, after some discussion, the order for aggression was given.

"Operation Cuba" was placed under the general supervision of Richard Bissell, Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. The agent stationed at Miami was Frank Bender. Other officials of the Agency stationed in Florida and Guatemala were known in counter-revolutionary circles as Jimmy, Clarence, Adams, Roderick and Charlie, the last-named being responsible for the training camps in Central America.

The United States agents, working in conjunction with the powerful economic interests affected by the Cuban revolutionary laws, formed the so-called Frente Democrático Revolucionario (Democratic Revolutionary Front), setting up as its figurehead Manuel Antonio de Varona, a sycophant of the United States who pledged himself to return the Cuban economy, if the counter-revolution exported from the United States succeeded, to the yoke of the monopolies which had distorted and exploited it. Later, the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo (People's Revolutionary Movement) led by the turncoat Manuel Ray, fell in with the Central Intelligence Agency's plans. This organization, as has now been shown, never received direct

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support from the Central Intelligence Agency, which reserved its copious financial aid for the Frente. Nevertheless, in the middle of February 1961 the agent Frank Bender presented the mercenary leaders with a list of names from which they were to choose the members of the so-called Revolutionary Council in Exile. There were differences of opinion, and at the beginning of April, at a meeting held in the Hotel Commodore in New York, agreement was reached to bow to the decisions of the Central Intelligence Agency, which, in its capacity as Grand Elector, had in fact already imposed the obsequious, corrupt and pompous Jose Miró Cardona as the titular head of the Counter-Revolutionary Council. The United States agent who took part in arranging the final details of this force was an individual named Carr, who had a number of interviews with the Cuban hirelings at the Skyway Hotel, in Miami.

Near the centre of the conspiracy, and as part of it, operated the propaganda machine of the Central Intelligence Agency, which financed counter-revolutionary publications such as Avance and Bohemia Libre in Miami and New York and operated a radio transmitter on Swan Island, which had been seized from Honduras by the United States. These publicity channels were employed for the purpose of spreading gross slander of the revolutionary leaders and the people of Cuba and maintaining confusion among the mercenaries; and finally the camps in Florida and Louisiana and in Guatemala and Nicaragua were allowed to listen only to broadcasts from Radio Swan, in order to put spirit in them and make them believe that the invasion would be a triumphal march.

Some changes were made over the months in the plans of aggression. The Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency proposed, during the Eisenhower Administration, that air and naval protection should be provided for the invaders and that if they were unable to maintain themselves on the beachhead the marines should be landed. Former Vice-President Nixon was one of the most violent proponents of direct intervention; but the matter was postponed. The same occurred when Kennedy assumed power. Direct intervention with regular troops was also discussed.

It has now been proved beyond any doubt, as the General Assembly knows, that the Central Intelligence Agency organized, financed and directed the campaign of terrorism and sabotage in Cuba, which took a tragic toll in dead, wounded and destroyed public property. The sabotage was carried out by means of bombs and incendiary material dropped by pirate aircraft based in Florida and by the use of mercenaries clandestinely infiltrated into Cuba.

Numerous violations of Cuba's air and sea space were carried out by United States military aircraft and warships. There were innumerable acts of harassment and provocation. Economic aggression was begun last year, with the reduction of the sugar quota, was intensified with the exports embargo and was completed this year with the total exclusion of Cuban sugar from the United States market. The objective pursued through these acts of war was to force the Cuban people to its knees and to starve it into surrender. At the same time, pressure was applied to induce the Latin American Governments break relations with Cuba, a petroleum boycott was decreed in order to bring about the collapse of the Cuban economy, United States citizens were forbidden to travel to Cuba, and the Eisenhower Government broke off diplomatic relations.

Once the White House had decided on aggression, the officials of the Central Intelligence Agency began military operations. At 6.00 a.m. on 15 April, B-26 bombers of United States manufacture attacked the Ciudad Libertad Military Air Base (Havana City), the San Antonio de los Baños Air Base (Havana Province) and the airport of Santiago de Cuba. Two B-26 bombers dropped eight incendiary bombs and machine-gunned the Ciudad Libertad Air Base. One bomb fell in the powder magazines, which took fire, causing a number of explosions. Another bomb fell in front of the Militia Headquarters, causing the death of militiamen and wounding Militia Commandant Universo Sánchez. Another set fire to a number of trailers loaded with gasoline. Another fell among thirteen explosive trucks, destroying six of them. Eight people were killed in this criminal air-raid, among them the Head of G-2 of the Rebel Air Force Artillery School Militia. Eight members of the Rebel Army and twenty-three members of the Revolutionary Militia

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were wounded. Also wounded were the civilians Gerardo Wilkinson, Enrique B. Amed, Ana María Reymond Alcántara and Olivia Gonzalez, ~~Claro~~, a three-year old girl. Five persons were wounded in the attack on the Santiago de Cuba Airport.

The United States Government, which had organized this act of piracy, declared hours later, with unheard-of brazenness, that the perpetrators of these bombing raids were members of the Cuban Air Force who had rebelled against the Government and fled abroad. The United States Representative even stooped to exhibiting in the First Committee the photograph of a mythical pilot of the Revolutionary Government.

Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, challenged President Kennedy to produce the pilots in the United Nations. But the truth about what had happened was soon known all over the world. The pilot who had allegedly landed at Miami with the story that he had bombed the Ciudad Libertad base was a mercenary named Zúñiga who had not taken part in the aggression. The pirate pilots, after bombing Havana and Santiago de Cuba, returned to their bases in Central America and Key West. The Central Intelligence Agency conceived the scheme in an infamous attempt to deceive the public.

The moment for the landing was approaching. In the camps in Central America and the United States, zero hour was being awaited by the mercenary invasion forces, whose ranks included adventurers of every description, war criminals of the Batista tyranny, ambitious politicians, a number of great landowners thrown on the scrap heap by the revolutionary laws, some fascist priests, and the sons of the chief traitors.

President Kennedy's Government sent to fight against the Cuban people such well-known murderers as Ramón Calviño and Jorge King of the Batista forces of repression, Cándido Mora, the war criminal, Andrés Rivero Agüero, the son of Batista's puppet candidate, and many others. All were captured by the Revolutionary Militia and the Rebel Army. Such were the "patriots" and "liberators" eulogized by the United States representative in his flights of oratory.

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At dawn on 17 April troops were landed at Playa Girón, on the south coast of Las Villas Province, under the protection of United States Navy destroyers. Some hours later, Sabre jets of the United States Air Force bombed various positions defended by the Revolutionary Militia and the Rebel Army. In a preliminary operation, the coast had been probed by frogmen trained at Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, where there is a United States military base.

The result of "Operation Cuba" is known to everyone: the swift, complete and glorious victory of the Cuban people. In less than seventy-two hours, the Rebel Army and the Revolutionary Militia routed the mercenary invasion force built up by the Central Intelligence Agency for over a year, thus striking a hard blow at the already crumbling structure of United States imperialism, and hastening the emergence of a world without either oppressed or oppressor countries.

Up to this moment, the Cuban Government has captured about 1,000 prisoners. Many of them are now revealing, in front of the television cameras, basic facts about the conspiracy engineered, organized, paid, supplied and directed by the United States Government.

The decisive contribution made by the small and obsolete Revolutionary Air Force deserves special mention. By dint of heroism and devotion, our pilots overcame the conditions of technical inferiority in which they had to face a fleet of B-26 bombers and the guns of the United States destroyers. Nine enemy aircraft were destroyed and several armed vessels damaged by the Revolutionary Air Force. Unfortunately, as has been pointed out by Dr. Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government does not possess a single Mig aircraft. The Central Intelligence Agency had planned the invasion believing that the Revolutionary Government had no military air force whatever.

The operational plans captured on the invaders, plans which had been prepared in the Pentagon, were from the military point of view irreproachable. They overlooked, however, the most important factor: the decision of the Cuban Government and people to defend their country and the revolution with their lives. Sherman tanks, parachutists, frogmen, bombers, and overwhelming superiority in weapons and Pentagon direction all failed to break their resistance or to check their offensive spirit.

The original composition and objectives of the so-called Revolutionary Council in exile offer conclusive proof of the falsity of the pretexts advanced by the United States Government and of the total dishonesty of the would-be

liberators of Cuba. The members of this body were selected by the Central Intelligence Agency and treated as mere ciphers. Although they collected their wages punctually, they played no part at all in the preparation of the plans. On the day of the invasion, which took them by surprise, they were picked up in New York by agents of Allen Dulles and taken first to Philadelphia and then to an abandoned airfield in Miami, where they were held incommunicado listening to the radio bulletins broadcast in their names by the Central Intelligence Agency. When the adventure ended in fiasco, they asked for an interview with President Kennedy, who sent Adolf Berle, his Co-ordinator for Latin American Affairs, and Arthur Schlesinger, the Presidential adviser, to collect them. The political architect of the mercenary invasion and the author of the State Department's libels against Cuba granted them a ten-minute audience with President Kennedy. On the following day, they gave the Press an amended account of the facts, the sole purpose of which was to save the face of the Government which had hired them like peons. It would be difficult to find men morally more corrupt than these in the entire history of colonialism. President Kennedy, for his part, has publicly accepted full responsibility for this shameful incident.

Faithful to the fundamental principles of its foreign policy and the international obligations which it has contracted, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba solemnly declares its readiness to settle its differences with the Government of the United States by bilateral negotiation, on a footing of equality and with an open agenda, in conformity with the peaceful means laid down in the Charter and under the auspices of the United Nations. In view of its inherent sovereign rights, it does not and cannot accept the jurisdiction of any tribunal which it has not freely chosen. And negotiations of this kind can take place in proper conditions only if the United States Government renounces its plans of direct or indirect aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of Cuba and recognizes the irreversible character of the revolution headed by Fidel Castro. The Cuban people is fully entitled to work out its own political, economic, social and cultural destinies. And it is also fully entitled to establish diplomatic, economical and cultural relations with all the peoples of the world, regardless of their social systems. The United States

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Government must realize, once and for all, that the Cuban people will never abdicate its rights or powers, and that it will not and cannot accept dictated conditions of any sort which are prejudicial to its right of self-determination or its national dignity.

There is no conflict whatever between Cuba and the people of the United States, or between Cuba and Latin America, or between Latin America and Cuba, or between the Revolutionary Government and the Cuban people.

The Governments of our region which have broken off diplomatic relations with the Revolutionary Government have done so against the will of their peoples and in deference to orders from the Government of the United States. They include the most hated dictatorships of the continent. The existing conflict is one between the Government and the people of Cuba and the Government of the United States together with the insignificant group of outcast Cubans who have betrayed the permanent interests of their country for the benefit of the large United States combines and of the international domination of a political and economic power structure now in process of inevitable disintegration.

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba declares to the whole world that it will never permit its territory to be used for aggression against any other country in the hemisphere or in any other quarter of the globe. At the same time, it wishes to affirm once again its intention to reclaim, in conformity with the rules of international law and whenever it may see fit to do so, the portion of the national territory contained within the United States naval base at Guantánamo. The supreme aspiration of the Cuban people is to live in peace with all the countries of the world; but the price of its contribution to peace can never be capitulation or vassalage. Cuba rejects the proprietary attitude of the United States Government towards the Organization of American States. And it also rejects any policy designed to convert Latin America into a sphere of influence or closed preserve of the economic, strategic and diplomatic interests of United States imperialism.

Over the tiny and heroic land of José Martí there now hangs the threat of direct armed attack by the greatest thermonuclear Power of the West. The General Assembly must remain on the alert.

Without prejudice to its right of self-defence should circumstances warrant the exercise of that right, the Revolutionary Government reserves the right to refer the matter at the proper time to whatever United Nations organ it may consider appropriate.

The delegation of Cuba asks that this communication be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed) Raul ROA
Minister for External Relations